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'We Can't Even Hammer a Nail!' – The Impacts of Top-Down Archaeological Heritage Governance on Village Communities' Wellbeing in Türkiye

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ABSTRACT

The presence of archaeological heritage can have various social and economic benefits for nearby communities, such as strengthening local identity and improving livelihoods through tourism. On the other hand, protective designations for archaeological sites whose boundaries include communities may impact livelihoods and well-being depending on the nature of the restrictions. The purpose of this paper is to assess the impacts of top-down protected area governance on community wellbeing over a time span of more than a decade. The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the Turkish village of Kapıkırı, situated in an officially protected archaeological site (Herakleia) in southwest Anatolia, and interviews with officials of different levels of protected area governance. The paper concludes that Türkiye needs to adopt a single, holistic, and pluralistic conservation framework responsive to changing local socioeconomic and environmental conditions.

KEYWORDS

Protected area governance; archaeological heritage management; site management; community wellbeing; Latmos; Türkiye

Introduction

Anatolia has an extraordinarily rich and multi-layered archaeological heritage bearing the traces of many settlements starting from palaeolithic times. Spread across the Anatolian and Thracian cultural landscapes, the number of archaeological sites exceeds by far all other cultural heritage site designations, such as urban-archaeological sites, historic sites, and historic urban neighbourhoods.[1] Since late Ottoman times, numerous village settlements have emerged in close vicinity to, and in many cases adjacent to or among, these archaeological sites. It is therefore not uncommon to stumble across a modern village settlement that emerged among the ruins of an archaeological site, as it happened to the renowned Turkish photographer Ara Güler, who in 1958, by pure coincidence, came across the villagers of Geyre who were living among the ruins of ancient Aphrodisias (today a World Heritage site). In 1961, when excavations led by Prof. Kenan T. Erim began at the site, the villagers were relocated to an area outside the ancient city (Güler 2009). Similar cases can be witnessed in Side, Simena, Selge (all located within the boundaries of the Antalya province), Stratonikeia, Sidyma, and Herakleia (all located within the boundaries of the Muğla province), and in many other parts of Türkiye.

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Therefore, protective site designations often encompass village settlement areas, directly affecting the lives of residents. Depending on the type of designation, villagers may face strict regulations governing the use of their properties. Within Türkiye's highly centralised governance system, mechanisms for local community participation in decisions affecting livelihoods and wellbeing have remained largely underdeveloped, including for village communities situated in the immediate vicinity of archaeological heritage. Over the last several decades, there have been cases whereby local communities were displaced in the name of archaeological site protection (such as in the cases of Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia). In other instances, restrictions that come with strict archaeological site designation have affected and continue to affect the lives of many villagers, which in turn may negatively impact the conservation of archaeological ruins.

This paper examines the case of Kapıkırı, a modern village located in southwestern Anatolia. The village is situated amid the ruins of the ancient Greek/Roman city of Herakleia, on the northeastern shores of Lake Bafa, at the foot of Mount Latmos (Beşparmak) (Figure 1). This setting places Kapıkırı within the broader Latmos region, known for its exceptional cultural landscape and its layers of archaeological heritage, characterised by Mediterranean stone pine forests interspersed with distinctive gneiss formations that shelter Neolithic rock paintings, Roman-period roads, and a diverse array of Byzantine remains.

Using this site as a case study, the paper evaluates the impact of strict archaeological site designations on the livelihoods and wellbeing of local communities. More broadly, it explores how top-down heritage governance and the absence of site management influence these dynamics, and how local responses, in turn, shape conservation.[2] The paper thus offers perspectives of communities living with archaeological heritage and

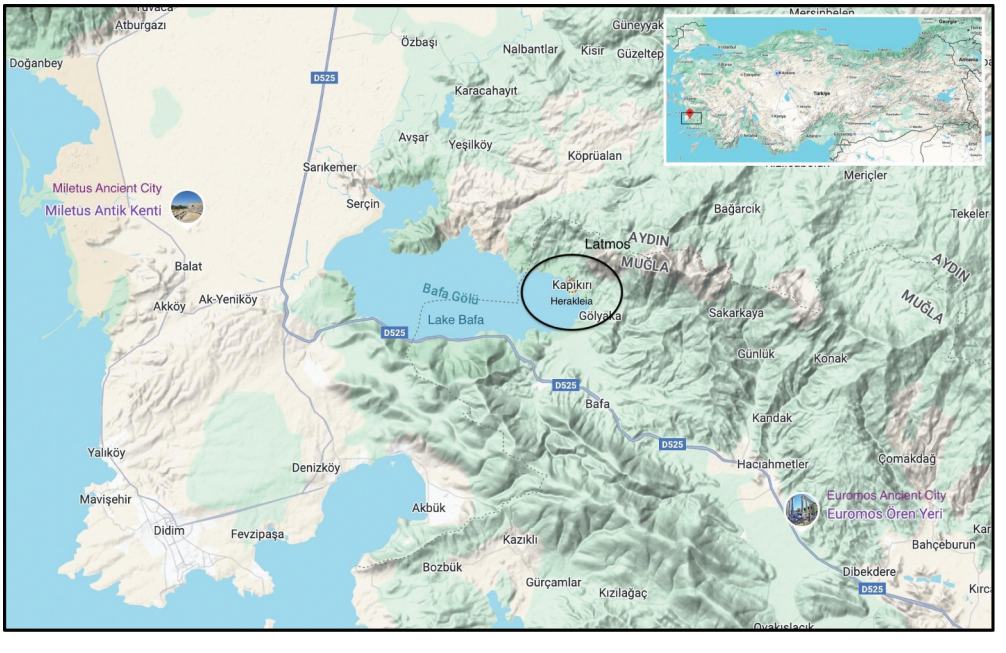


Figure 1. Location of Kapıkırı and ancient Herakleia. Source: Google maps.

issues they face related to protective measures, designations, policies, and management. As tourism has exerted a significant impact on the community of Kapıkırı, the study will ultimately provide insight into the dynamics between strict archaeological heritage designation, tourism, and community wellbeing, providing first-hand official and unofficial accounts in a rural context, based on interviews with relevant local, regional, and national level officials and with village residents living in direct contact with archaeological heritage.

The study's methodology is based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Kapıkırı and its surrounding area over a span of 13 years. First visits to the village to conduct ethnographic fieldwork were made in 2010 and 2011, lasting a total of two and a half months. Ethnographic fieldwork involved participant observation, and informal and semi-structured interviews with seniors, women, youth, business owners, and farmers, as well as foreign and domestic tourists. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with officials responsible for the conservation and management of heritage at local (in the sub-province Milas), regional (in the province of Muğla) and national (at relevant ministries in Ankara) levels. Kapıkırı, Milas, and Muğla were again visited in October 2023 to reassess heritage management and community development circumstances more than a decade later. Relevant local NGOs and archaeologists familiar with the region were also interviewed, as well as officials responsible for heritage conservation.

Archaeological Heritage Management, Communities, and the Significance of Inclusion

Archaeological heritage management, besides safeguarding significant scientific data regarding the past, may play a significant role in strengthening the cultural identity of nearby communities, and may contribute to the local and national economy of a society through tourism (Cleere [1990] 2012). Living nearby an archaeological site may also offer opportunities for improving communities' livelihoods through their participation in tourism, employment in excavation projects, and the implementation of a variety of projects by excavation teams that also address communities' social and economic needs. Archaeological sites may therefore lead to building 'strong, self-reliant communities' (UNESCO 2010, 14), and an improvement of quality of life (Dupeyron 2020). On the other hand, with an increase in popularity (through the World Heritage label, for example) sites and their adjacent communities may suffer from overtourism, non-conforming tourism or other development infrastructure, gentrification, and increased pollution. In other cases, communities may be forced to relocate or their livelihoods may be affected by local conflicts or strict management rules. Thus, their exclusion from decision-making in archaeological heritage management may affect their wellbeing in different ways.

The international conservation and development community emphasises the importance of pluralist solutions and the consideration of human rights in conservation and protected area governance (Berkes 2007). Likewise, adopting holistic and pluralistic approaches that encourage diverse stakeholders and particularly local communities to be involved in all heritage management practices, from the identification to the interpretation of heritage values, has become an indispensable aspect in World Heritage and other heritage site management (Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge 2007; Brumann and Berliner 2016; Harrison 2012; Hodder 2010; Smith 2006).

Not only has the inclusion of local communities in heritage management practices been crucial to avoiding leaving out certain intangible heritage elements associated with sites (Smith 2006), or to avoiding potential negative impacts on their socioeconomic wellbeing, but their inclusion facilitates a much wider perspective on conservation and management issues of a heritage site. In addition, inclusion may generate more creative solutions to problems; reduce implementation failure; increase plan acceptance; manage competing interests and mediate conflict; enhance public ownership and commitment to solutions; support the rights of citizens to be involved in decisions that affect them; increase government accountability; and facilitate the articulation and representation of a diversity of interests and values involved in a decision (Lockwood 2010).

While there has been a global shift towards co-management in the governance of nature-protected areas, emphasising the involvement of local and indigenous communities, governments, and NGOs in shared decision-making (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2013), in the context of archaeological heritage and site management, the adoption of inclusive approaches remains limited around the world. Adopting a critical approach to how archaeological site management has excluded local communities in South Africa, Egypt, Greece, and Türkiye, Fushiya (2010) and Abdelazim et al. (2025) argue that participation can enhance community wellbeing and agency. While Fushiya (2010) proposes a strategy for local involvement, Çardak (2025) introduces a governance approach built upon three interlinked pillars: community-based participation, environmental sustainability, and tourism practices aligned with cultural values. However, Chirikure and Pwiti (2008) remind that such efforts must be adapted to local contexts. Based on their successful public archaeology project in Crete (Greece), Kyriakidis (2019, 106) concludes that

> When heritage is understood as something that lives and evolves through heritage values, many of which are carried primarily by local communities, it is not only valued and protected by those who live close to it, but it becomes a self-sustaining resource for the flourishing of those communities.

He therefore suggests using the term *aephoria* over the term *sustainability* as an ideal for heritage management to shift the emphasis from heritage as something that society needs to hold on to, towards something that, under the right conditions, can keep 'blossoming' or 'bringing' benefits to people and society.

People- or rights-based approaches to the management of sites have therefore increasingly appeared on the agenda of major conservation organisations such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), who – as Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Convention – have collaborated since 2011 to ensure that rights issues at the local community level are appropriately addressed (IUCN, ICOMOS, and ICCROM 2014). Most importantly, such approaches make successful outcomes more likely for both heritage and for those involved (ICCROM 2015).

The Governance of Heritage Sites in Türkiye

Türkiye has largely followed the Western tradition of protecting natural and cultural heritage, which has a long history of conceptualising nature and culture as separate –

an approach that is often difficult to sustain in 'the real world of people's lives and their engagement with and "being in" the environment' (Feary et al. 2015, 103). Türkiye's biodiversity and heritage are governed by three separate ministries: the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MoAF) and the Ministry of Environment, Urbanisation, and Climate Change (MoEUCC) govern biodiversity and natural heritage, while the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MoCT) oversees cultural heritage. This fragmented model, while administratively typical of centralised states, can present challenges in coordinating overlapping values, stakeholders, and conservation goals at archaeological sites that encompass both natural and cultural heritage.

A preliminary examination of the governance structures of natural and cultural heritage of other countries reveals notable parallels to and departures from the Turkish model. In Greece, heritage is also governed by separate state agencies – the Ministry of Environment and Energy (biodiversity and protected areas) and the Ministry of Culture and Sports (cultural heritage) – although there is sometimes collaboration between them, especially in areas where cultural and natural heritage overlap, such as archaeological sites located within protected natural landscapes (Evangelos Kyriakidis, pers. comm., August 4, 2025).

On the other hand, while Italy's cultural heritage is governed by the Ministry of Culture, with decentralised offices called Superintendencies (*Soprintendenze*) monitoring cultural heritage at the local level, the country's natural heritage and biodiversity is the shared responsibility of the Ministry of Environment and Energy Security, the Ministry of Culture, and regional and local governments. The country's governance model can therefore be described as a hybrid system, whereby central-level authorities ensure rigorous professional standards and regional/local bodies manage and operate heritage sites oftentimes via more flexible structures (Bonini Baraldi 2014).

Examining Norway's heritage governance system with respect to the level of participation, Colomer (2024) concludes that while the legal framework recognises public participation (through the ratification of the Faro Convention), in practice, local people play a limited formal role, typically confined to voting cycles rather than active engagement in planning and heritage decisions. Heritage governance remains dominated by professional authorities, with municipalities and heritage agencies retaining most decision-making power. In Norway, both natural and cultural heritage fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Climate and Environment, yet they are governed by separate legal frameworks. The governance system emphasises decentralised implementation via municipalities, which allows integration to occur primarily at the municipal level, where land-use planning processes require attention to both biodiversity and cultural values. In contrast, as laid out in its *Australian Heritage Strategy* (Commonwealth of Australia 2015), the Australian government has moved towards more integrated governance structures, where both cultural and natural heritage are managed under unified federal frameworks, with growing attention to the co-management of sites between Aboriginal Australians and the government.

Türkiye's nature-protected area system is largely based on criteria of IUCN's universal framework for establishing protected areas (Dudley 2008). The MoAF's General Directorate for Nature Conservation and National Parks (GDNCNP) (operating under Law No. 2873 on National Parks) governs protected area categories such as Nature Protection Areas (corresponding to IUCN Category I), National Parks

(IUCN Category II), Natural Monuments (IUCN Category III), Nature Parks (IUCN Category V), as well as Wetlands (including Ramsar Wetland Areas), Wildlife Development Areas, Protection Forests, Forest Parks (urban forests), Gene Conservation Forests, Seed Orchards, and Seed Stands.[3] Furthermore, the MoEUCC's General Directorate for the Conservation of Natural Assets (GDCNA) governs Special Environmental Protection Areas (SEPA), Natural Sites (first, second, and third-degree), and Natural Assets (monument trees and caves).[4] As of December 2022, protected area coverage governed by both ministries was 13.73% of the total area of the country.[5]

The main decision-making bodies regarding conservation issues for the above-mentioned categories are the Central Commission for the Conservation of Natural Assets, along with Regional Commissions for the Conservation of Natural Assets (RCCNA), operating under the MoEUCC. Conservation and use strategies for various nature-protected areas are outlined in 'Development Plans for the Purpose of Conservation' for Natural Sites, and in 'Long-term Development Plans' for National Parks, Nature Parks, wetlands, and other protected area categories (Official Gazette of the Republic of Türkiye 2012).

In Türkiye, the governance of (tangible) cultural heritage is the responsibility of the MoCT's General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (GDCHM), operating under Law No. 2863 (1983) on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets. Regional Conservation Councils (RCCs), autonomous groups of experts appointed by the MoCT, are the major decision-making bodies, operating under the Superior Council for Conservation (SCC), which determines guiding principles for the conservation and restoration of immoveable heritage assets.

While RCCs play a central role in decision-making for the conservation of immovable cultural heritage, their operations and decision-making processes have been subject to scrutiny. Scholars and civil society groups have expressed particular concerns regarding the slow decision-making processes, leading to delays in the implementation of conservation projects; the underrepresentation of essential disciplines or the appointment of underqualified or politically affiliated members, resulting in potentially problematic decisions for heritage; the lack of participatory processes and transparency in decision-making, undermining accountability and public oversight; and political interference in decision-making, enabling the implementation of potentially destructive development projects; and inconsistencies across decisions, preventing the implementation of a consistent conservation policy (Ekşi, Ülgen, and Dardeniz 2024).

RCCs supervise cultural heritage site designations such as archaeological sites, urban-archaeological sites, historic sites, historic urban neighbourhoods, and sites with overlapping protection statuses, among other responsibilities. Depending on their significance and integrity, archaeological sites (discussed in this paper) are attributed first-, second- or third-degree protection status. While first-degree sites can only be used for scientific purposes, and thus prohibit any form of intervention or new construction on these sites, except for certain infrastructure and seasonal agricultural activity, second-degree sites allow renovation and the construction of recreational and basic infrastructure, with approval by their respective RCC, and third-degree sites allow construction within the framework and conservation principles of conservation master plans, serving also as buffer zones.[6]

However, as Madran and Özgönül (2005) rightly argue, the current system for designating archaeological sites lacks a standardised set of criteria to guide how sites are evaluated. Instead of assessing sites based on a consistent set of value attributes – such as uniqueness, integrity, archaeological or historical importance, aesthetic qualities, or research potential – the system focuses primarily on determining the degree of allowable intervention. In other words, the designation process is driven more by management considerations (i.e. what can or cannot be done on a site) than by a thorough valuation process grounded in heritage values. This leads to a situation in which protection levels are used as proxies for site value, rather than as tools for managing sites based on established cultural significance. This rigid and hierarchical model neglects both the specific conservation needs of individual sites and advancements in archaeological research. It also fails to recognise that even highly valuable sites may benefit from carefully designed interventions implemented within the confines of master plans, depending on their specific context. Furthermore, the lack of flexibility in the designation system makes it difficult to integrate new research findings, and upgrading or downgrading a site's status is often a time-consuming and politically sensitive process.

While the Law No. 2863 was initially concerned with the protection of both cultural and natural heritage, adopting elements of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, organisational and legislative changes to protected area governance implemented after the re-election of the political party AKP in 2011 have increasingly lead to the fragmentation of the governance of natural and cultural assets, as also emphasised by Bonini Baraldi, Shoup, and Zan (2013). The then Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MoEF) was split into two ministries: the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning (today's MoEUCC), and the Ministry of Forestry and Water Works (today's MoAF). With the legislative change in 2011, the initial decision-making power of 34 independent RCCs (operating under the MoCT) over Natural Sites (defined in the Law No. 2863 as 'natural heritage areas, above ground, underground or under water, reflecting different geological periods and having extraordinary features that due to their rarity need to be protected'), was transferred to the MoEU and its RCCNAs.

In 2022, the GDCNA published new guidelines for the evaluation of natural sites (Republic of Türkiye Ministry of the Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change 2022), which – by means of ecology-based scientific research reports prepared by a team of experts – allow them to be zoned and re-classified under three new categories (from most restrictive to less-restrictive): strictly protected fragile areas, qualified natural protected areas, and sustainably protected and restricted use areas. However, given mounting development pressures in rural and coastal areas from surface mining, tourism expansion, housing projects, and infrastructure development, this reclassification framework may result in a gradual relaxation of protection measures. Areas once strictly protected could be re-designated under less restrictive categories, potentially opening them up to construction and other disruptive activities. Such concerns raised by environmentalists are corroborated by the fact that expert appointments by the MoEUCC are often politically influenced. Moreover, the absence of essential professional disciplines – such as forestry, agricultural, or environmental engineering – on appointed commissions, and the production of reports lacking sufficient expert input or adherence to technical guidelines, have been major points of contention. Another issue of concern is that while qualified natural protected

areas and sustainably protected and restricted use areas require approval at the Ministry level, areas proposed as strictly protected fragile areas require the President of the Turkish Republic's approval. This means that if approval is not granted, such areas will also risk increased destruction. Given the neoliberal agenda of the current administration and its more authoritarian and top-down approach to heritage management, this added layer of political approval raises the risk that, if such designations are not granted, ecologically sensitive areas may be left vulnerable to degradation and development.

In Türkiye, many villages located within the boundaries of first-degree archaeological sites have been literally forced to freeze in time, as the designation does not allow any kind of intervention. In fact, villagers' complaints of 'not being able to hammer a nail' has become a common refrain among conservationists and archaeologists. These top-down restrictions impact the conservation of built heritage as well as the wellbeing of village communities. In fact, Kalpaklı (2013) has argued that the 'not being able to hammer a nail' policy inflicts more damage to the built heritage, as it leads to the deterioration of village communities' properties.

Moreover, a common phenomenon resulting from the country's fragmented governance structure regarding cultural and natural heritage is that in numerous areas different protected area categories overlap, since many archaeological or historical sites are situated in exceptional natural areas. Such overlaps generally impact village communities, as they slow down formal decision-making procedures due to power conflicts among the agencies of different ministries. A 2012 protocol signed between the MoCT and the then MoEUP intends to regulate areas where natural sites overlap with archaeological, urban, urban-archaeological, and historic sites and registered cultural heritage assets and their buffer zones. According to the protocol, cultural heritage assets are first evaluated by relevant RCCs (of the MoCT), but final decisions are made by relevant RCCNAs, indicating a shift in power of decision-making from the MoCT to the MoEUCC.[7] On the other hand, for cases where protected area designations governed by the MoAF overlap with designations governed by the MoCT, as in the case of this paper, a protocol between the relevant ministries has not yet been signed. Conservationists therefore argue that Türkiye's fragmented legal system must be reviewed for contradictory clauses, as well as updated to adopt new definitions, concepts, and approaches within the scope of international conventions, and merged under a framework law (World Wide Fund for Nature-Türkiye 2020).

Türkiye's post-2011, increasingly fragmented governance structure of natural and cultural heritage has no doubt deepened institutional inefficiencies, leading to ambiguities in responsibility, delays in decision-making, and conflicts among different state agencies, reflecting a shift in the conservation-use paradigm. Although it claims to balance conservation and use, the model has increasingly prioritised economic interests over ecological integrity and community wellbeing, drawing strong criticism from environmentalists for reducing nature and culture to exploitable resources (Büyüksaraç 2020).

Archaeological Site Management and Communities in Türkiye

Local communities are widely recognised as the custodians of their heritage, which has led to an increased advocation for their rights to be involved in decision-making processes that affect the future of heritage sites worldwide (Smith and Waterton 2009). The

Burra Charter (ICOMOS 2013) and the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005) have proven especially influential in emphasising the value of heritage in the lives of local communities and the meanings and values communities attribute to it. Yet many nation-states and their governmental agencies fail to recognise inclusionary, communicative, and deliberate processes as more effective approaches to conservation and the improvement of the wellbeing of communities living nearby heritage sites. This remains the case in Türkiye, where individuals and communities are still not recognised as key stakeholders in heritage management, and the Faro Convention has yet to be ratified. Decision-making has always been in a top-down manner, and in many cases, the communities living near archaeological heritage have been regarded as a threat to these cultural resources.

In 2005, with amendments to Law No. 2863, the Legislation for Site Management came into force, the same year the World Heritage Committee made it mandatory for nominations to the World Heritage List (WHL) to include site management plans (SMPs) (UNESCO 2005).[8] The Legislation introduced SMPs as essential tools for the conservation, development, and management of heritage sites and their buffer zones, facilitating and accelerating their preparation for sites to be nominated to the WHL (Orbaşlı 2013; Ulusan 2016).

The (highly regulated) preparation of SMPs is generally initiated either by the MoCT or by local municipalities in the case of World Heritage sites, and in some instances by excavation teams, local museum directorates, or NGOs. The Legislation requires site management planning and implementation to be conducted in coordination with local governments and civil society organisations. With the coordination of a site manager appointed by the MoCT, a team of experts prepare a draft plan. The Legislation advises stakeholders and the local community to be consulted during at least two public meetings organised before and during the management planning process. However, to what extent their interests and views are considered in these and later stages of plan implementation is at the initiative of the site manager, the team of experts, and other stakeholder institutions (Ulusan 2023), and may also largely depend on their progressive attitudes, level of expertise, or specific interests at play. For example, Human (2015) and Meskell (2018) report how, during the nomination of the Çatalhöyük Archaeological Site as a UNESCO World Heritage site and the revision of a site management plan, Turkish state officials neglected to involve local partners in decision-making. Human (2015, 171) observes that 'Full and active involvement of local communities is reinterpreted as formal stakeholder consultation in a narrow site management planning process, controlled by either the central state or local government'.

Furthermore, the Legislation does not include any clause on the necessity to engage communities in projects or actions to be implemented within the scope of site management plans. In Türkiye, except for World Heritage sites and nominated sites, almost all archaeological sites with protective designations lack SMPs. As of December 2025, 32 MoCT approved SMPs were listed on its website, of which 18 belong to World Heritage sites and the remaining 14 to nominated sites and sites with protective designations,[9] such as the SMP for the Küçükyalı ArkeoPark in Istanbul.[10]

A preliminary review of SMPs prepared for the World Heritage sites with nearby communities (such as those of the Archaeological Site of Ani, Aphrodisias, Arslantepe Mound, and Ephesus) reveals an effort to implement inclusive strategies and actions addressed towards local communities with regards to improving their socioeconomic

circumstances by increasing their share from tourism, but also to make them active stakeholders in the conservation and presentation of sites and surroundings, and include all values associated with sites and their surroundings in the management planning process. Unfortunately, while the Legislation requires all stakeholders to give priority to the implementation of SMP strategies and actions, and allocate funds accordingly, these plans lack binding power. In addition, over time management planning power has shifted to the Ministry level, leading to the marginalisation of local governments' and other stakeholders' roles and the prioritisation of policies and projects in line with the hegemonic discourse (Ulusan 2016; 2023). Therefore, the effectiveness of SMPs in improving the lives of villagers living nearby World Heritage sites or other heritage sites remains to be seen.

Although not the focus of this paper, several excavation projects in Türkiye have initiated community engagement activities, often outside formal site management frameworks. Traditionally, local villages provided labour and logistical support (Orbaşlı 2013), but in recent decades, some teams have developed inclusive public archaeology initiatives tailored to local contexts, benefiting both communities and site conservation (Eres 2016; Gürsu 2019; Hodder and Tsoraki 2021; Ricci and Yılmaz 2016; Torun and Poblome 2014).

Few studies in Türkiye have examined the impact of archaeological site designations on nearby communities. Research in Muğla (Diler 2004; Oktik and Öztürk 2007) found widespread dissatisfaction with conservation practices. Villagers often lacked knowledge about heritage and legal rights, viewed RCC decisions as unjust, and associated protected sites with restrictions. Yet, many saw themselves as stewards of heritage, reflecting a form of grassroots conservation awareness. Despite this, most expressed pessimism about the future and distrust in the state's ability to offer effective solutions.

In her study of the Köprülü Canyon National Park (KKMP) and its local communities, Büyüksaraç (2020) explores the intersection of conservation policies and neoliberal transformation in Türkiye, showing that a neoliberal 'conservation-use' agenda that commodifies heritage coexists with a paternalistic, state-led protection model, producing contradictions – strict protection on paper alongside state-backed tourism and energy projects. She also traces fragmented governance and shifting institutional powers that complicate management and erode local agency, framing protected areas like KKMP as contested spaces shaped by state, market, and community interests.

Göçer et al. (2021) document rural gentrification in Behramkale, near the ancient site of Assos, following its designation as an urban archaeological site in 1982. As tourism replaced traditional livelihoods, locals – faced with costly and complex renovation rules – sold their historic homes to outsiders and relocated nearby, leading to rising property values and a tourism-driven transformation of the village.

The Village of Kapıkırı and Surrounding Heritage Designations

Kapıkırı, a traditional Turkish village with a current population of about 280, was established in the early nineteenth century when a group of nomads (*yörüks*) settled among the ruins of ancient dwellings to the north of the city centre of ancient Herakleia, regarded as a well-preserved example of an ancient Greek city dating back to the fourth century BCE. As the population of these early settlers increased, so did the number of houses built around

the core settlement. Until the 1960s, settlement was relatively dense and located primarily around the core. Traditional houses were built mainly of stone, brick, and wood, but the use of ancient construction material (spolia), such as rectangular blocks of granite that once formed the ancient city wall of Herakleia, was also common. In the 1960s, modern settlement began to spread south of the ancient city, posing harm to major structures such as the agora, the bouleuterion, and the Temple of Athena. Villagers continued to build new houses, extensions to their houses, and tourism businesses along main streets.

In an interview with the author, German archaeologist Dr. Anneliese Peschlow – who initiated systematic surface survey in the Latmos Region in 1974 and was instrumental in identifying its Neolithic-era rock paintings – recounted that, by the 1980s, her team had noticed a slow but steady destruction of the ruins as the modern village expanded. She subsequently submitted a formal communication to the MoCT, alerting the authorities to the adverse impact of ongoing construction activities on the integrity of the ancient city and urging the provision of official protective status. In 1989, the MoCT designated an area surrounding the ancient city and modern settlement with first-degree archaeological site status prohibiting any intervention on ancient and modern heritage structures and new construction within site boundaries. In the official decision of designation, a clause was added indicating that a specific area in close vicinity to the modern settlement (outside archaeological site boundaries) would be allocated for future housing, but the Ministry never followed through on that promise, and villagers were left on their own terms to solve housing and accommodation needs.

In 1989, the MoCT also designated Lake Bafa and its shoreline with first-degree natural site designation to protect its wetland habitat, which serves as a significant nesting site for sea birds, and its extraordinary geomorphological structures. The lake is also surrounded by a unique landscape shaped by weathered gneissic rock formations called *tafoni*, olive groves, fig and pomegranate trees, and traditional rural settlements dispersed in between them. The designation includes farmlands of Kapıkırı villagers located near the lake's shoreline but excludes the modern village settlement further inland. As a general policy, the Turkish state has refrained from restricting the activities of villagers residing within protected areas. Consequently, their farming practices have remained unaffected, and the first-degree designation has not negatively impacted their wellbeing.

With the intention of protecting more extensive areas around the lake and facilitating recreational uses and tourism, in 1994, the then MoEF declared these areas of approximately 11,842 hectares as the Lake Bafa Nature Park, corresponding to 'natural areas that display landscape characteristics rich in flora and wildlife, and serve recreational purposes' according to IUCN's category V of protected areas (Dudley 2008). The 'Nature Park' boundary also encircles the modern settlement of Kapıkırı. The village is therefore affected by two protected area designations – that of a first-degree archaeological site as well as the Nature Park designation (see Figure 2). Nature Park designation allows the construction of recreational infrastructure only within the framework of a long-term management plan. Activities that would disrupt the ecological balance and value of the ecosystem are strictly prohibited.

Although protected area legislation requires the preparation of long-term management plans for protected areas, such a plan was not prepared until 2008. During initial fieldwork in 2010 and 2011, strategies that also aimed for the socioeconomic development of the village were still not implemented, mainly because first-degree archaeological site

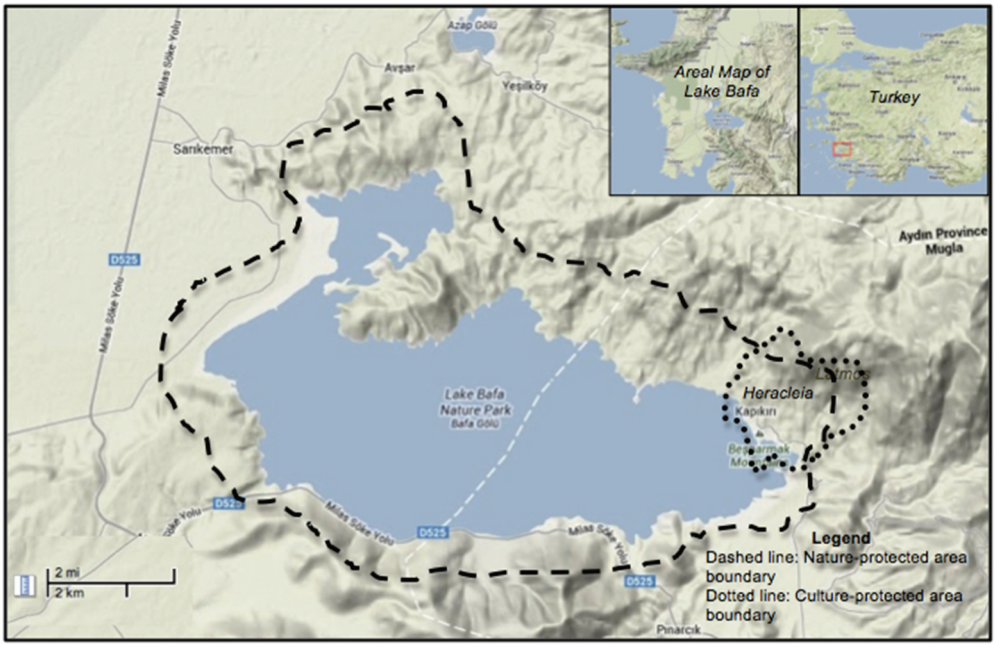


Figure 2. Protected area boundaries surrounding the village of Kapıkırı. Source: Adapted from the long-term development plan of the Ministry of the Environment and Forestry (2008).

designation surrounding the village prevented any intervention. During a final visit to the area in October 2023, park management informed the author that the plan has not been revised since then. In the absence of a long-term management plan outlining conservation and development strategies for the lake and its surrounding settlements, park management was limited to enforcing prohibitions on illegal hunting and unpermitted construction.

Today, traditional village houses, livestock stalls, and tourism businesses stand alongside Hellenistic and Roman era ruins (see Figures 3–5). Both modern and ancient settlement are surrounded by a rugged landscape, littered by boulders of gneissic rock that have largely prevented villagers from ploughing fields, except for a confined area next to the lake. Most villagers have therefore made a living by keeping livestock, fishing, growing olives, vegetables, and fruits for subsistence, and participating in tourism. Unfortunately, lake pollution and an imbalance in lake chemistry have made fishing an unreliable source of livelihoods. During the study there were eight tourism businesses in the village, owned and managed by local families. About half of village women were earning an additional income from making and selling handcrafts. A few villagers were selling their catch to village restaurants, or were taking tourists on boat tours. Younger farmers also occasionally assisted business owners in leading hiking tours for tourists.



Figure 3. Ruins of ancient Herakleia's bouleuterion, right next to a village house. Photo by the author.



Figure 4. The ruins of a Roman thermae next to livestock stalls. In the background: the Latmos (Beşparmak) mountains. Photo by the author.

Impacts of Natural and Archaeological Heritage Governance on Wellbeing

Unofficial Accounts

Initial ethnographic fieldwork in the form of participant observation and informal and semi-structured interviews with seniors, women, youth, business owners, and farmers, as well as recent interviews in 2023, indicated that the Lake Bafa Nature Park designation had limited direct negative impacts on most villagers' livelihoods. Agricultural and fishing activities were largely unaffected. Villagers recognised the ecological value and tourism potential of the protected status, which helped prevent large-scale resort development around the lake. While conservation supported tourism growth, the resulting economic benefits were unevenly distributed. Pension owners benefited the most, whereas many farmers faced declining agricultural



Figure 5. The ruins of the temple of Athena surrounded by modern village settlement. Photo by the author.

income and lacked the resources to engage in tourism. Village women earned modest supplementary income from craft sales, and young people, limited by housing and economic opportunities, saw little future in farming. Overall, while protected area designation helped preserve the natural and cultural landscape and boosted tourism appeal, it also deepened socioeconomic disparities and posed development challenges for the local community.

On the other hand, first-degree archaeological site designation had an impact on the majority of households, who indicated hardship caused by the ban on renovation and new construction within archaeological site boundaries. However, strict designation had different implications for different groups of villagers. The village had been attracting mostly foreign visitors since the 1960s for its traditional way of life among ancient ruins, offering a variety of recreational activities. During those years, few simple teahouses and restaurants run by local villagers used to serve tourists. As tourism increased throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s these first small businesses were turned into pensions, and additional facilities were built, despite strict conservation measures since 1989. Meanwhile, additional protective measures of the 1994 Nature Park designation contributed to the conservation of the exceptional cultural landscape, ensuring a continual flow of tourists to the area, and a continued demand for accommodation. Additionally, the need for new housing for younger families emerged as tradition requires sons to own a house before marriage, in addition to the need to conduct renovations.

As a result, the strict ban on any form of intervention and new construction resulted in extensive illegal construction and renovation. Even though most villagers believed in the necessity of strict conservation measures of their heritage, those with financial means built anyway, paying off fines. Pension owners continuously expanded their businesses, all while improving their economic situation. Eventually this led to a significant income gap between them and farmers, creating a source of envy for some farmers who indicated that pension owners were 'eating the cream of conservation', as admitted by a business owner as follows:

> Instead of obeying the rule that forbids any sort of construction, people have been finding ways getting around the laws. We have also disregarded the law, and constructed in the past. The fines never demotivated business owners. They have been including the cost of fines to the cost of construction. So, it has been more the pension owners, rather than the farmers, who have been doing illegal construction. There was quite a lot of illegal construction during a certain period, with the concern that in the future it would not be possible to do at all.

Farmers with sufficient financial means also built houses illegally, using increasingly inconsistent and simple architectural styles, as well as cheaper and easier-to-handle building materials such as concrete, that did not conform to traditional architectural styles and original building materials (Distelrath 2011). However, the majority of farmer households lacked finances to improve their houses or provide new housing for subsequent generations. In the absence of any clear guidelines for renovations, many opted for cheap and temporary solutions, using non-authentic materials for renovations in fear of getting fined. In most cases, it was observed that these solutions were functional rather than aesthetically pleasing, leading to a loss of the integrity of the vernacular architecture, and in other cases to the deterioration of properties. Many farmers reported not having 'added a single brick or stone' to their house for years, expressing concern about the stability of their house, and complained that the 'not being able to hammer a nail' policy placed immense hardship on their lives.

While respecting conservation measures, both business owners and farmers demanded that the state balance conservation and development needs by allowing controlled development, suggesting a zoning strategy that would identify lots where new construction would not pose a risk to the ruins. Also, strict guidelines developed by the local cultural heritage management office could be put in force. Business owners pointed out the need for the implementation of a site management plan for the village and its surrounding area that would involve small-scale projects for local economic development in tourism and agriculture. However, both groups agreed that without the current designation, the area would quickly transform into a holiday resort dominated by concrete buildings.

More senior villagers were concerned about the possibility of a state-imposed relocation, expressing a deep connection to their land. Some asserted that their presence had been essential to the protection of the cultural heritage resources, arguing that in the absence of a thriving village the cultural resources would likely risk being plundered. On the other hand, the majority of the younger generation, except children of business owners, was more inclined to establish a life in a nearby town or city for better professional opportunities. Overall, there was pessimism regarding the future of their village. Villagers had the impression that sub-provincial and provincial levels of governance were not attentive to their needs. A major concern was that, without the implementation of a proper plan, the village population would likely continue to decline leading to further decay and abandonment. Another scenario was that more and more outsiders buying property in the village would lead to a loss of the village's traditional and authentic character.

Proposed Solutions and Major Drawbacks

The fact that almost all villagers did not have official titles to their properties was a major drawback to any possible solution, and a rare circumstance with respect to

other villages in the region. Only two pension owners reported having official titles for parts of their properties. Landownership in Kapıkırı was traditionally passed from one generation to the next and unofficially registered by the *muhtar* (elected village representative). In the past, the local government had initiated campaigns to facilitate official landownership. However, according to Laws No. 2863 and No. 2873, the land-use rights of officially-owned lands with protective status are transferred to the state. Therefore, even if villagers officially own land, they cannot sell it unless they participate in state compensation programmes. These programmes offer landowners cash for the value of their land, or state-owned land elsewhere in exchange for their land. Villagers did not consider any of these options for fear of high property taxes or forced relocation. Official landownership, they explained, would also mean stricter enforcement regarding construction.

In an effort to reconcile the conservation of ancient Herakleia with the development needs of local residents, Dr. Anneliese Peschlow, together with the German architect Albert Distelrath, devised a strategy identifying areas around the modern settlement where additional housing could be constructed. This proposal, however, was never implemented by the Regional Conservation Office of Muğla, as doing so would have required downgrading the site's designation from first-degree to third-degree archaeological site status – a move that would likely have sparked controversy (see Distelrath 2011).

Official Accounts

During initial interviews with officials of the MoCT, the coordinator of the SCC at the GDCHM explained that RCCs generally strictly adhere to the law, rarely re-evaluating cases of sites with the strictest protective status to avoid controversy. Sub-provincial heritage management offices report cases of illegal activity to experts at provincial conservation offices, who investigate each case and report their evaluations to RCCs for final decision-making. According to the coordinator, a down-grading of archaeological site status or any other solution was unlikely for Kapıkırı. Moreover, third-degree archaeological site status would have transformed the site into a 'tourism development area'.

Another ministry official, a planner, stated that cases with overlapping protected area boundaries, which are managed by different ministries, generally generate conflict between managing bodies, and are therefore regarded as a problem as processes take longer. He therefore suggested the creation of an umbrella organisation that coordinates cases where conflicts of power arise between the different divisions of ministries, and further commented:

> Actually, the conservation system in Türkiye is simple, but organisations do not work efficiently, because they all have their own perspectives, and unfortunately, they do not consider the impacts of their lack of efficient governance on local people. Beyond that, the national level is not able to control any implementation of decisions at the local level, because that is the responsibility of the local governors and municipalities. To make things worse, there is no enforcement in protected areas, or it is not enough.

In his view, the state had not been successful in balancing protection and use. He therefore suggested developing site management plans for areas such as Kapıkırı.

At the provincial level, interviews with the head of the RCC of Muğla and with a senior archaeologist revealed that the MoCT's GDCHM had not been using a fixed set of criteria or employing the concept of values-centred heritage conservation to determine the level of protective status. In many cases, the perspective and evaluation of archaeologists in charge of determining the designation played a crucial role. In the case of Kapıkırı, the village received the strictest designation because modern settlement was threatening the integrity of a relatively large antique city. In fact, both officials disclosed that the state's intention was to be deterrent, so that in the long term – frustrated by severe restrictions – villagers would eventually migrate to other places.

The senior archaeologist commented that she 'wished it was possible to move the village to another place'. She suggested that the ancient city could be transformed into an open-air museum, so that perhaps more revenue could be extracted from the place. But she remarked that Türkiye's circumstances make it difficult to implement such decisions, as 'there are ruins underneath almost all present settlement areas, and it is not possible for the state to vacate all such settlements'. In her opinion, while the option of moving villagers to other areas was not likely, any option of improving people's living conditions in the village also seemed bleak. She noted that council members would sometimes allow slight amendments to protected area boundaries, excluding small parcels of land owned by villagers. In the case of Kapıkırı, however, this was not an option because villagers lacked title to their lands.

Both officials acknowledged people's rights to live in proper housing and that strict designation was forcing villagers to make illegal interventions. However, the head of the RCC warned that when local socioeconomic circumstances are difficult and the state tolerates illegal activity to a certain degree, things get out of control quickly, and concrete buildings start to appear everywhere. He therefore argued for strict measures that do not allow more construction than there already is, particularly referring to pension owners who are never content with the space they have. He emphasised the importance of raising awareness about conservation among residents, remarking that problems in conservation are a sociocultural phenomenon and that the pressure of law alone should not be the sole protector of heritage. In his words:

> Actually, it is better for the pension owners that the place is being protected the way it is. Because, if the place had not been a first-degree archaeological site, everyone would have preferred to live there, particularly people from other places … As a consequence, the population would have increased significantly, and so the problems … Our Law No. 2863 might cause problematic situations in the short term, but in the long term and viewed from a broader perspective, thinking about the future, it is not a bad law. Perhaps we owe the authenticity of this place to the decision to make this place a first- degree archaeological site?

The officials both acknowledged the need for local solutions. Particularly for cases of overlapping boundaries, the archaeologist suggested that more effective solutions could be developed and collective decisions made at the local level. Therefore, local governments could be responsible for dealing with such incidents. However, she seemed pessimistic that this would happen in Türkiye, because of the current complexity resulting from too many laws and regulations enforced by different ministries responsible for conservation. She was also concerned that excessive development would spoil the village's traditional character and harm the ruins:

> There needs to be a control mechanism in a certain way, because there is no end to development. Wherever people find an opportunity to build, they will pursue that. Especially, when tourism is a potential, then it is hard to stop developers, and nothing remains untouched. In case you change Kapıkırı's protection status from first-degree to third-degree, you won't recognise the village in a year. Villagers might not want to move to the neighbouring village, but they might accept foreigners from abroad buying property from them. . . . There is a fine balance between conservation and development. The place should not become like the coastal touristic town of Fethiye that now almost looks like an English town. Perhaps because the state is not able to maintain this fine balance, it therefore requires these strict protection measures. If you start seeing no Turkish signs in a place anymore, then there is the danger that the place is completely transforming.

When the director of the local archaeological museum of Milas, at the sub-provincial level of heritage management, was interviewed, he argued that cases such as Kapıkırı can only be solved with serious reform in conservation governance. Criticising decision-making processes of RRCs as operating too slowly, he proposed that decision-making should be at the local level. Moreover, cases such as Kapıkırı require comprehensive site management plans that craft strategies to achieve conservation and improved livelihoods. In his view, protected areas could be more effectively governed by a single 'collective commission'. At the village level, the *muhtar* and the ticket booth official reported feeling discomfort about their responsibility reporting illegal activity. Both officials reiterated that need for the local level's increased power in decision-making.

More recent interviews conducted between October 2023 and September 2024 revealed that circumstances with respect to the management of heritage in the village and villagers' complaints had not changed. The provincial director for Nature Conservation and National Parks in Muğla affirmed that without solving the landownership problem of the village, there seems to be no solution to the matter, but that the villagers of Kapıkırı deliberately continue their illegal presence for their advantage. At the sub-provincial level of heritage management, a senior archaeologist of the archaeological museum of Milas confirmed the need for the local level to have more power in decision-making.

In Kapıkırı, the current *muhtar* reported that the villagers' frustration with regards to the ban on renovations continued. At the same time, after a long standstill, a team of Turkish archaeologists had resumed excavation and restoration on the ruins of Herakleia. Over the course of three years, some of the ruins were restored through anastylosis, site accessibility was improved, and interpretive panels were put on display. The director of excavations reported that villagers initially became concerned about the possibility of relocation. However, she did not want villagers to be negatively impacted by ongoing excavations, only that they cooperate with her team.

With the appointment of a new minister in 2018, the MoCT ramped up excavations and restorations at major, well-known archaeological sites across the country. The duration of excavations has been extended, with the stated aim of 'bringing ruins to their feet' to rapidly convert them into heritage attractions and boost visitation. In February 2024, the Ministry announced this nation-wide project as *Heritage for the Future Project (Geleceğe Miras Projesi)*. However, archaeologists conducting fieldwork in Anatolia have criticised the initiative for prioritising tourism over scholarly and preservation goals.[11]

In Kapıkırı, improved site aesthetics, visitor accessibility and management, and heritage interpretation will undoubtedly have a positive impact on how both visitors

and villagers experience the village and its ruins. However, the long-term effects of the project on the modern village remain uncertain. Will the project significantly increase visitor numbers? What will be the impacts of increased visitation? Can existing businesses meet the potential rise in demand? And can the village preserve its traditional livelihoods and authentic character amidst these changes? These questions highlight the urgent need for a comprehensive site management plan – one that balances site development with the socio-economic needs of the local community.

In Ankara, officials at the MoEUCC and the MoAF affirmed that the current fragmented system of protected area governance has resulted in gridlock and delays in the implementation of policies, stressing the need for a single framework of heritage governance and management.

Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to assess the impacts of strict archaeological site designation, and more broadly of top-down heritage governance and the absence of site management, on the livelihoods and wellbeing of village communities, and in turn to assess how responses to conservation measures have affected their surrounding heritage. Cases such as Kapıkırı require reconciling the conservation of heritage with the changing socioeconomic needs of resident communities in order to maintain a 'living village'. What emerged from the case is that, while the Lake Bafa Nature Park designation contributed to the protection of the surrounding landscape, the strict first-degree archaeological site designation of ancient Herakleia and Kapıkırı, combined with an absence of proper site management, has threatened the integrity of the ancient and modern settlements due to illegal construction and renovation, resulting in significant income gaps between tourism business owners and farmers.

With regards to the governance of heritage sites, the study reveals that rather than a fragmented system of conservation governance – in this case, one governed by three different ministries, oftentimes leading to power conflicts, gridlock, delays in decision-making, and a clear oversight of issues at the local level – a single or umbrella protected area framework that empowers local levels of governance may be more effective in addressing cases such as Kapıkırı, where the conservation of natural and archaeological heritage overlap. Local levels of governance have greater insight regarding local dynamics, and are thus better equipped for decision-making.

Concerning the management of sites such as Kapıkırı, the case shows that cultural landscapes with an exceptional nature, archaeological heritage, and village communities require context-specific, inclusive, comprehensive, and holistic management planning approaches that address the sustainable conservation of heritage and community development needs. Influenced by broader regional and national socio-cultural, economic, and political factors, local contexts are highly individual, presenting unique challenges and demanding unique solutions. On the other hand, local contexts are also dynamic, changing over time, and therefore require long-term conservation and development strategies that are responsive to changing environmental circumstances. Such strategies are best developed by adopting an adaptive and participative approach to planning. The participation of village communities is essential in all stages of long-term planning and

management, as is that of local NGOs and scholars, particularly heritage management specialists and anthropologists.

At the broader level, however, the case illustrates that village communities and rural areas in Türkiye have been transforming at an unprecedented pace. The village of Kapıkırı may still be regarded in a state of balance, whereby traditional livelihoods are practiced while a steady flow of tourists visit to experience its authentic and traditional lifestyles while enjoying surrounding natural and archaeological heritage. Despite illegal construction activity over the last two decades, the village and its surrounding landscape largely remain intact, attributable to the strict protected area designations, which have prevented areas around the lake to be flooded by hotels and other tourism businesses. On the other hand, as is the case in most rural areas and villages around the country, younger generations find no incentive in pursuing lives in their villages, and tend to seek opportunities in larger cities. Instead, villages like Kapıkırı offering exceptional heritage are increasingly preferred by outsiders buying property in these rural areas. As a result, such villages have been losing their authentic and traditional character, transitioning towards becoming spaces of consumption rather than production.

Most importantly, however, just outside protected area boundaries, in the heart of the Latmos region, as in many other parts of the country, the current (AKP) administration's aggressive neoliberal 'development' model, which disregards and disrespects the continuation of heritage and rural lifestyles, has been irreversibly damaging the region's exceptional cultural landscape described earlier. Since the 1990s, the region has faced significant destruction due to extensive mining operations. The livelihoods and health of many village communities is threatened as result of open-pit mining, extracting minerals such as feldspar and quartzite for the ceramics industry. As a result, concerned local residents, NGOs, local archaeologists, and other scholars and lawyers have joined forces under the so-called 'Latmos Platform', cooperating with village communities, raising awareness on the region's precious heritage values, initiating legal cases against mining operations, and lobbying for the urgent expansion of protected area boundaries that cover the whole region for the effective conservation of the cultural landscape of outstanding universal value. The Turkish state, therefore, urgently needs to adopt heritage governance principles that are both appropriate to the context and 'good', as outlined by Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2013, 59) in order to achieve effective and equitable conservation that respects community rights and livelihoods, all while expanding the coverage of protected areas in line with the Kunming-Montreal Global Biodiversity Framework Targets for 2030.

Notes

1. As of the end of 2023, the total number of registered archaeological sites has reached 24,031 in addition to hundreds of other registered site categories such as *urban sites*, *historic sites*, *urban archaeological sites*, and *mixed sites*. Retrieved on September 2, 2024 from the MoCT's website: https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-44973/turkiye-geneli-sit-alanlari-istatistikleri.html.
2. Within the context of this paper the term 'governance' is used for all aspects, legal, executive, coordination at the national (ministry) level. The term governance generally implies the coordination of a number of responsibilities of various actors with the goal of successful management. By 'management', site management by authorities at the local level is implied. The quality of management is directly related with the quality of governance.

3. Retrieved on May 27, 2024 from the MoAF – GDNCNP's website: https://www.tarimorman.gov.tr/DKMP.
4. Retrieved on May 27, 2024 from the GDCNA of the MoEUCC's website: https://tvk.csb.gov.tr/.
5. Retrieved on August 24, 2024 from the MoEUCC's website: https://cevreselgostergeler.csb.gov.tr/korunan-alanlar-i-85778#:~:text = 2022%20y%C4%B1l%C4%B1%20sonu%20itibariyle%2C%20Tar%C4%B1m,13%2C73%25'd%C3%BCr.
6. Resolution No. 658, dated 5 November 1999, on the 'Conditions of Protection and Use of Archaeological Sites' of the Ministry of Culture – Superior Council for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets. Accessed on August 30, 2024 at: https://teftis.ktb.gov.tr/TR-263742/658-nolu-ilke-karari-arkeolojik-sitler-koruma-ve-kullanma-kosullari.html.
7. The 'Protocol Concerning Overlapping Designations' signed between the Turkish Republic's Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation in 2012 can be accessed at: https://teftis.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/5079,en-son-protokol-metni-2982012.doc?0.
8. The legislation for SMPs can be accessed at: https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2021/03/20210326-1.htm.
9. The list of site management plans can be accessed at: https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-204384/ulusal-yonetim-planlari.html.
10. The Küçükyalı ArkeoPark Site Management Plan (2019) may be exemplary as a site management plan prepared for an urban archaeological site situated in a dense urban neighbourhood of Istanbul. The SMP can be accessed at: https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/74072,uyp–kucukyali-arkeopark-alan-yonetim-planipdf.pdf?0.
11. Retrieved from the following news article: https://www.trthaber.com/haber/kultur-sanat/gelecege-miras-bergama-projesi-tanitildi-839086.html.

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Declaration

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